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that very calamity which made him 'leave the herd' like 'a stricken deer,' it was owing that the genius which has consecrated his name, which has made him the most popular poet of his age, and secures that popularity from fading away, was developed in retirement; it would have been blighted had he continued in the course for which he was trained up. He would not have found the way to fame, unless he had missed the way to fortune. He might have been happier in his generation; but he could never have been so useful; with that generation his memory would have passed away, and he would have slept with his fathers, instead of living with those who are the glory of their country and the benefactors of their kind."—Vol. II. p. 313.

ART. IV. — 1. *Historical and Scientific Sketches of Michigan, comprising a Series of Discourses delivered before the Historical Society of Michigan, and other interesting Papers relative to the Territory.* Detroit. 1834. 12mo. pp. 215.

2. *Constitution of the State of Michigan, as adopted in Convention begun and held at the Capitol in the City of Detroit, on Monday the 11th day of May, A. D. 1835.* Detroit. 1835. 8vo. pp. 20.

THE late rapid growth of Michigan in population and importance; the extent of recent speculations in land within its limits; the collisions in which it has been engaged with the great bordering State of Ohio; and its peculiar actual position in relation to the Federal Union, are circumstances naturally creating a strong interest in its statistics and history.

Michigan is a peninsula of triangular shape, occupying what may be denominated the maritime frontier of the old Northwestern territory. Its southeastern point is about 300 miles from the city of Buffalo, in the State of New York, which stands at the eastern extremity of Lake Erie. It is bounded on the north by the connected waters of Lakes Huron and Michigan, on the west by Lake Michigan, and on the south by the States of Indiana and Ohio. Lake Erie, Detroit river, Lake St. Clair, and the river of the same name, constitute its

eastern boundary, for the space of about 140 miles; after which this boundary is continued northward by Lake Huron. The area of the State comprises about 40,000 square miles, and its population at the present time is estimated at 125,000.

The general surface of the territory is comparatively level, having no mountains of any considerable elevation. In many points, however, the soil is gently undulating, particularly as you advance from the shores of the surrounding Lakes. Precipitous bluffs may be found along the border of Lake Huron; and numerous sand hills, which have been doubtless blown up by the winds of that Lake, may be discovered upon the eastern shore of Lake Michigan. Much of the land along the shore of Lakes Erie, Huron, and St. Clair, is low, level, and heavily timbered. The interior is more hilly, and consists of extensive tracts of good timber, alternated by plains, prairies, and oak openings. These plains are timbered soil, destitute of undergrowth; and the oak openings are constituted of large timber scattered over the surface in groves, but in sufficient quantities, ordinarily, for farming purposes. The soil of this species of land, although easily cleared by a team of four or five oxen, and favorable to the production of wheat, is not deemed so fertile and durable, as those sections which are more heavily timbered. The prairies are vast plains, destitute of forest, and covered with a long and coarse grass, which is occasionally cleared off by the autumnal *burnings*. They are either wet or dry. The dry prairies produce most of the crops which are common to 42 degrees of north latitude, and they are especially productive on the borders of the St. Joseph River. The wet prairies afford good pasturage, and coarse hay for winter stock; and by draining, may be reclaimed into valuable meadow land.

Michigan abounds also in rivers and small streams, which rise in the interior and flow into the neighbouring Lakes. The northern tributaries of the Maumee river, a stream of much importance as the outlet of a wide and rich back country, spring from this State, and joining the main stream, which rises in Ohio, discharge their waters into Lake Erie, at the point of junction between the States of Michigan and Ohio. The river Rouge enters Detroit river just below Detroit. Grand River is the largest stream in Michigan. It is 270 miles in length, has 8 feet of water on its bar, and at its mouth is between 50 and 60 rods broad. The soil which borders it

is extremely fertile. A project has been started to connect it with the Huron, and, by this agency, to open a direct line of communication between Lake Erie and Lake Michigan. The St. Joseph river, with its tributary streams, waters a fertile tract of territory, and is deemed to afford eligible points for settlement along its banks. Besides the larger rivers, which we have mentioned, there are numerous smaller streams not navigable, which afford advantageous sites for manufactories; and lakes abounding with fish are scattered through the forest, some marshy and unhealthy, others clear as crystal, watering shores of pebble and sand.

A number of projects for internal improvement are now under consideration, upon a scale of great magnitude. A survey has been made for a railroad across the peninsula, from Detroit, through the several counties of Wayne, Washtenaw, Jackson, Calhoun, Kalamazoo, Van Buren, and Berrian, to the mouth of St. Joseph river; and also for a railroad from the mouth of the Maumee river, through the southern counties of Michigan and the northern part of Indiana, terminating at Michigan City, which stands upon the southeastern shore of Lake Michigan. A canal has also been projected, from the mouth of the Maumee Bay, to the shore of Lake Michigan. There is little doubt but that some, if not all, of these schemes will be carried into effect, as capital flows into the country, and as its resources are gradually developed. The configuration of the land is eminently adapted to the construction of canals and railroads, as it is generally level, and easy of excavation, from the loamy nature of the soil and the absence of rocks.

The soil of Michigan is highly fertile, although of diversified character. The different varieties of gravel, black sand, loam, and clay, may be found in the different sections of the State, but the greater part is productive. It is in fact found to be much more valuable, than was formerly imagined, from its light and sandy appearance in many parts of the State. By actual experiment it is ascertained, that the greater portion improves by cultivation, and, in point of fertility, is equal to that of any of the northwestern States, affording products common to 42 degrees of north latitude. The bottoms and thickly-timbered parts of the country are covered usually with a black mould, which has doubtless been formed by the accumulation of vegetable matter, the deposit of forests, which

have been successively decaying and fertilizing the soil for ages. Valuable lead mines have been discovered within the boundaries of Michigan, at its junction with the State of Illinois. In some parts of the State, iron and salt have also been discovered, but their value has not been accurately determined. It is believed, however, that the country abounds less in mineral than in agricultural wealth.

The public lands of Michigan were first surveyed in 1816 or 1817; and in the succeeding year they were offered in the market for sale, under the authority of the national government. From that period the rapid advance of the territory may be dated, on account of the emigration which the sale of these lands encouraged. The public domain of the territory is surveyed into townships of six miles square; these are subdivided into sections, each one mile square; and the number of the sections is always blazed upon the trees by the surveyor, at the corner of the sections respectively, in numerical order, commencing at the northeast corner of each township. *Blazing* is performed by shaving off a certain space upon the bark of the tree, and by cutting the number of the township, range, and section, upon the smooth surface. Each section contains 640 acres, and the smallest lot which can be purchased must comprise 40 acres. Section number 16 of each township, is reserved for the support of common schools; and liberal grants have been made for the erection of a University. The minimum price affixed by the government for the public lands, is a dollar and a quarter for the acre. In the different land offices which are established at Monroe, Bronson, and Detroit, there are annual sales of public lands by *auction*; and whatever remains unsold, is left to be purchased at these offices by private sale, on the payment of the government price.

The scenery of Michigan is in many parts beautiful. It has been our lot to wander along the borders of its largest rivers, and to traverse its deepest wilderness, at a season of the year when nature was adorned with its most magnificent dress. Immense forests of walnut, hickory, maple, beech, ash, poplar, and oaks, of different species and of enormous size, stretch out before the eye their gloomy solitudes to a vast extent, occasionally broken by a sheet of clear water, or a waving prairie. The streams which intersect the more undulating parts of the country are transparent and rapid.

Broad lakes spread out their crystal mirrors to the heavens, within sandy banks encumbered by verdant and massive vegetation, and enamelled with gaudy and brilliant forest flowers. In the more dense parts of the wilderness, you may occasionally cross the track of a wolf or a bear, and, as you emerge into the oak openings, you will come suddenly upon a fine deer, bounding across the plains which seem like an immense park, or feeding by the banks of the lakes ;

“ hos tota armenta sequuntur
A tergo, et longum per valles pascitur agmen.”

But the beauties of nature must atone for many *desagrémens*, and the absence of all beauties of art. Musquitoes and bad roads put the traveller's patience to the test ; and while, occasionally, he finds little clusters of log huts, and even prosperous villages, springing up in the wilderness, these, in proportion to the extent of country, are, of course, few and far between. His eyes are more frequently greeted with the sight of the Indian wigwam, with its painted inmates lounging about the environs in savage disorder, or the solitary log cabin of the hardy emigrant, containing a household too often prostrated by sickness, and surrounded by half-burned and smouldering logs, of which he has just disburdened the soil with his axe.

We suppose that the average temperature is not lower than that of New England ; and the climate is healthful, with the exception of those bilious disorders which are incidental to all new countries, particularly the fever and ague. This disease seems to be contracted from the month of June to September, and almost everybody who remains in the country through those months, is obliged to undergo a *seasoning*. It doubtless proceeds from the *miasmata* thrown off from decayed vegetable matter ; for it is found that in proportion as the surrounding country is cleared up, the disease disappears.

The ante-revolutionary history of Michigan is in a great measure traditional, and is handed down to us mainly in scattered and mutilated fragments. A savage race of Indians, inhabiting an equally savage wilderness, remote from civilization, is the last source to which we should refer for well-authenticated historical documents ; and the monuments which are daily ploughed up by the emigrant throughout the whole breadth of the Mississippi valley, rather present new problems, than elucidate the old. With the exception of what

relates to bloody wars of the savages among themselves, and the successive struggles of the English, the Indians, and the French, for the right of domain, little of interest has been transmitted to our times.

The "Historical Sketches," whose title we have prefixed to our remarks, comprise a series of discourses delivered by Lewis Cass, our present Minister to France, Henry Whiting, John Biddle, and Henry R. Schoolcraft, the accomplished western scholar and antiquary, before the Historical Society of Michigan. This Society, it appears, was founded in 1829, for the purpose of collecting and perpetuating its historical records. The facts which are embodied in these Discourses, are, from the causes which we have mentioned, fragmentary, and of course form no compact and connected chain of history. They are, however, as interesting as could be collected by able and ingenious minds from crude materials, and are brought down to the year 1832. From certain causes which do not appear, they are destitute of a particular and accurate jurisprudential history of the State, commencing with the administration of Governor Cass. This is now, therefore, a great desideratum; because the organization of the territorial government into a firm and compact body politic, may be dated from his induction into office. Before that period, the jurisprudence of the territory was comparatively loose, unsettled, and desultory. To a lawyer of talents, this portion of its history would form a valuable subject for a future discourse.

The Discourse of Mr. Schoolcraft is confined to the consideration of Indian history. This subject falls properly within the scope of the historical sketches of Michigan, because out of relations to the savage tribes, arose all events of principal importance in its early settlement. They were proprietors of the soil, and the whites were their tenants at will; until by fraud, force, or policy, the Indians were themselves ejected from their ancestral domain. Mr. Schoolcraft has been long conversant with their character, as Indian Agent for the United States; and his habits of accurate observation and philosophical investigation, attach the highest authority to his opinions on all matters connected with them. The character of that fast fading, but, with all their errors, noble race, is a subject full of attraction to the philosophical student of man. It must be acknowledged that there is no nation on

record, which, at a period anterior to civilization, has exhibited stronger and more exalted traits of character ; and the subject acquires a melancholy interest from recent occurrences, wherein we view them rousing into one more desperate effort before they sink. We find them in league successively with the English, the French, and the Americans, and they have seldom evinced a want of talents or courage. As early as 1535, the French emigrants encountered the most formidable opposition from the Iroquois, or Five Nations. These tribes were closely affiliated, with the exception of the Wyandots or Hurons,* who severed from their family and took part with the French. They had their domiciles at the head of the most important streams ; and their success was consequent, according to Mr. Schoolcraft, on their having early acquired the use of firearms, while the other tribes adhered with obstinacy to the use of the bow and the war club.

Against this confederacy, the French courted an alliance with the Algonquins, a race which were scattered along the banks of the St. Lawrence, and exerted a powerful influence towards the north and west, extending even to the principal tribes of New England. The Foxes were neutral, and destroyed their own influence by acquiring the hatred of both parties. The Chippewas subsequently formed an alliance with the French against the Foxes, and drove the latter race into the country west of the Mississippi. The French, who had most to fear from the enmity, and most to hope from the friendship of the Algonquins, took advantage of the hostilities between this tribe and the Iroquois, to secure the former to their cause, attending them in their hunting and war parties, intermarrying with them, and settling in their remotest villages. The Iroqueis were a brave and crafty tribe, and carried the most savage war into the territory of their enemies ; but were finally conquered by the French, backed by their confederates, the Algonquins.

Mr. Schoolcraft thinks that the declension of the Indians arises from causes incident to their own condition and habits, as much as from contact with civilization. Among these causes he enumerates disease, springing from an ignorance of medical science, wars, sudden transitions from heat to cold,

* Lake Huron derives its name from this tribe.

from abstinence to repletion, and from exertion to indolence. We cannot forbear quoting his language in illustration of their melancholy decay, as the sentiments of a man who has thoroughly studied the Indian character.

“ But not they only, — our entire Indian population appears fated to decline ; not so much, it is apprehended, from the want of external sympathy, as from their falling under the operation of a general principle which spares neither white or red man, but inevitably dooms all who will not labor, to suffering and want. Accustomed to live on game, they cannot resolutely make up their minds to turn agriculturists, or shepherds, or mechanics. They have outlived the true hunter state of the country, yet adhere with fatal pertinacity to the maxims of a wandering life. They pursue their intestine feuds with as determined a rancor, as if they still had ample stores of animal food, and unbounded ranges of territory to flee to. They cannot be persuaded that there is any better mode of living, than that pursued by their forefathers, or any species of freedom, superior to the state of savage independence. This is the whole mystery of their decline, however other secondary causes may have hastened, and may still continue to accelerate it.

“ They have been taught from early life, that tilling the earth is dishonorable ; that war is the true path of glory ; that happiness consists in sensual enjoyments ; that forecast is distrust of Providence ; the acquisition of property degrading, and generosity the test of greatness. But their generosity often degenerates into extravagance, and their trust in Providence into an excuse for indolence. Their aversion to labor is often to be traced to the fear of ridicule ; their contempt of wealth, to the rage for popularity. The desire of personal distinction is frequently indulged at the expense of private rights and of national faith. Bravery is often another term for assassination ; and riot, a milder word for homicide.

“ These remarks may appear severe, but they are not intended to be so. They are conceived to be just ; and we may appeal for their truth, to every person of observation, who has been long and intimately acquainted with our Indian tribes. No one can be insensible to the heroic traits of the Indian character ; to his open hospitality, his constancy in professed friendships, his filial piety, his resignation under suffering, his valor in battle, and his triumph at the stake. No nation, perhaps, ever felt a stronger love of country, or cherished a deeper veneration for their dead. And they linger round the places of their sepulture, as if conscious that the period of separation was limited, and the soul itself was immortal.

“There is a charm cast over the hunter’s life, which it is easier to appreciate than describe. There is something noble in the situation and circumstances of the Indian, who, confident in his own skill, is buoyed up in his frail canoe, or, trusting to his own prowess, plunges into the deepest forests, reckless alike of want and danger, roving at will, without the ties of property to embarrass, or the obligation of laws to restrain him. But it is the charm of poetry, and not of real life. It is sweet to the contemplation, but bitter to the taste. The pleasure arises from associations which few will stop to analyze, but every heart can feel. It is a pleasure which will remain and be cherished as a species of intellectual talisman, long after the people who are the sources of it shall have submitted to their probable fate.”—pp. 83 – 85.

Mr. Schoolcraft enters into an argument to show, that the abridgment of their hunting grounds is one prominent cause of their declension ; and he affirms, that their character presents almost insuperable obstacles to the success of philanthropic labors for their improvement. He remarks ;

“They neither desire our knowledge nor our religion. They are not in a situation to appreciate our customs or institutions. They distrust our power, decry our refinements, and condemn our laborious industry. All the motives that can operate on unenlightened minds, pride of character, the hope of fame, the fear of evil, tend powerfully to oppose civilization and Christianity. The Jew is not more wedded to his peculiarities, nor the Mussulman to his slothful habits and erroneous faith.”—p. 88.

The recorded history of Michigan, commences with the emigration of Jacques Cartier, the first European adventurer to that region, who landed about three centuries ago upon the island of Montreal. Before this period, the vast region of country beyond the lakes was held through occupancy, by numerous Indian tribes, who had been previously engaged in a long series of disastrous and bloody wars with each other, for conquest or revenge. Cartier, however, was only the pioneer. Champlain, a French naval officer, laid the foundation of French influence in this country, by the establishment of a colony upon the banks of the river St. Lawrence, which gradually spread itself until it disputed the sovereignty of North America with England. By his agency, and that of the emigrants who explored the interior for the sake of gain, besides the Christian exertions of a body of Roman Catholic

missionaries, a knowledge of the country was gradually acquired, and the dominion of civilization extended. In 1632, these missionaries had advanced as far as Lake Huron. They identified their fortunes with those of their converts, the Wyandot Indians, and suffered the same carnage with them, when they were conquered by their savage enemies, the Iroquois.

The French trade soon took the course of the upper Lakes ; and trading posts with the Indians were established about the middle of the 17th century, at the Sault Ste. Marie, Green Bay, Chicago, St. Joseph, and Michilimackinac.

Robert de la S  le, a Frenchman, was the first complete discoverer of the course and outlet of the Mississippi river, previous attempts for that object having been made and failed. Having built the first ship at Erie which had ever navigated the western Lakes, he embarked on board of that ship, and in 1679 ascended the Lakes to Michilimackinac ; where he left his vessel, and embarked his party on Lake Michigan in canoes. Coasting along its shore to its southern extremity, he found his way over land to the Illinois, and descending that river and the Mississippi, he first saw, on the 7th day of April, 1681, the mingling of its waters with the Gulf of Mexico. He made such a report of the advantages of the country through which he had passed, after meeting the most discouraging obstacles, and suffering extraordinary hardships, as to induce the French government to establish a cordon of posts along the western Lakes and rivers, extending from Quebec to the delta of the Mississippi, which should keep the Indians in check, and monopolize the trade. It is a somewhat remarkable fact, that General Washington entered on his public career, in a mission to remonstrate with the commanding officers of the French, upon the Ohio and Alleghany, against these advancing establishments.

Detroit was founded, in 1701, by Monsieur de la Motte Cadillac, who left Montreal in Canada with a hundred men and a Jesuit, and made a permanent establishment at this point. This was the first white settlement in the region ; and here was laid the foundation of the State of Michigan. The name Detroit, derived from the French word *  troit*, a *strait*, was given to the city from the fact that it was the prominent point upon the river, or *strait*, connecting Lake Erie with Lake St. Clair. Before this name was selected, Detroit was known to the French, and was styled in the early grants, Fort Pontchartrain of the strait of Lake Erie.

There is a chasm in the history of Detroit from this period ; and, in fact, we are left in entire darkness as to the particular causes which stimulated or checked its early growth. It would seem, from what we can collect in the broken records of the day, that it continued to advance with a moderate degree of prosperity, disturbed occasionally by attacks from the surrounding savages. Charlevoix remarks, that herds of buffaloes, which modern civilization has driven to the plains of Missouri and the base of the Rocky Mountains, were, in 1721, ranging upon the prairies bordering the river Raisin.

During the early settlement of Detroit, the Ottagamies or Foxes evinced a marked hostility to the whites, and several times attacked their forts ; but they were soon discomfited and driven into obscurity by the confederates of the French, the Ottawas, the Potowotamies, and the Wyandots.

Governor Cass remarks, that only a few scattered and broken facts can be gleaned from the contemporaneous records of Detroit, for the space of forty years commencing with the year 1720. The surrounding savages were, many of them, treacherous and hostile ; but, notwithstanding the most appalling disadvantages, the French colonial power was rapidly extended. In 1749, a reinforcement of emigrants, bringing with them the necessaries for the support of a colony, had been sent out from Europe, and new settlements were made. The wars between France and England, which prevailed during a portion of the eighteenth century, extended their ravages to this quarter. In 1760, under the capitulation of Montreal, the British took possession of Detroit and the other trading establishments of the French, which then commanded the great domain of the west, from points at St. Joseph, Green Bay, Maumee, Sandusky, and Michilimackinac. In 1763, these posts were ceded by France to Great Britain.

The Indian influence, which had been long vacillating between the English and the French, was strongly exerted against the former as soon as they had obtained the French posts ; and at this juncture appeared a character unrivalled in savage history. That character was Pontiac. An Ottawa by birth, he had been long distinguished among the tribes as a chief uniting all qualities for command. He would have been eminent in any nation, savage or civilized, for the possession of an acute and solid judgment, profound dissimula-

tion and address, invincible courage, and impressive eloquence. Profiting by the prejudices which were arrayed against the English, he established a general confederacy among the Indian tribes for the purpose of attacking, simultaneously, the line of English posts extending northwest from Niagara to Green Bay, and southwest to Pittsburg; (the whole constituting a thousand miles of frontier;) and, by treachery, slaughtering their garrisons. His design was, first to acquire possession of the territory, and afterwards to prevent the ingress of British power by a general Indian league. He possessed sufficient materials to inflame the passions of the savages, in the recollection of the injuries which they had for a long time endured. For this object, a grand council of war was convened. Pontiac showed them a belt, which he alleged that he had received from the French King, enjoining upon them to expel the British, and to make way for the return of the French; and he at the same time wrought upon their superstition, by declaring, that the Great Spirit had appeared to a Delaware Indian in a dream, prescribing the course of the savages, and demanding among other things, "Why do you suffer these *dogs* in red clothing to enter your country and take the land I gave you? Drive them from it, and when you are in distress I will help you." By the eloquence of his harangues upon such topics, he roused their minds to determined action. During the month of May, 1763, the storm burst suddenly upon the British garrisons, and nine out of twelve surrendered. Pontiac* considered the post at Detroit

* The following is a part of Pontiac's speech to the French inhabitants, on the 23d of May, 1763. "I have no doubt, my brothers, but this war is very troublesome to you, and that my warriors who are continually passing and repassing through your settlements frequently kill your cattle and injure your property. I am sorry for it, and hope you do not think that I am pleased with this conduct of my young men. And, as a proof of my friendship, recollect the war you had seventeen years ago, [1746,] and the part I took in it. The northern nations combined together, and came to destroy you. Who defended you? Was it not myself and my young men? The great Chief Mickinac, (the Turtle,) said in council that he would carry to his village the head of your chief warrior, and that he would eat his heart and drink his blood. Did I not then join you, and go to his camp and say to him, if he wished to kill the French, he must pass over my body and the bodies of my young men? Did I not take hold of the tomahawk with you, and aid you in fighting your battles with Mickinac, and driving him home to his country? Why do you think that I would turn my arms against you? Am I not the same French Pontiac who assisted you seventeen years ago? I am a Frenchman, and I wish to die a Frenchman." After throwing a war belt into the council, he continued; "My brothers, I begin to grow tired of

as the most important, and the key to the ultimate success of his enterprise, and he therefore undertook its attack in person by stratagem. We subjoin an account of his contemplated mode of attack, and its fortunate discovery, in the language of Governor Cass.

“Such was the relative situation of the British and Indians, when Pontiac, having completed his arrangements, on the 8th of May, 1763, presented himself at the gates of the town with a considerable body of his warriors, and requested a council with the commanding officer. His plan was well devised, and had it been secretly kept, must have been successful. The Indians had sawed off their rifles so short, as to conceal them under their blankets. One of our most intelligent French inhabitants, Colonel Beaufait, has informed me, that his father, returning that day from the fort, met Pontiac and his party upon Bloody Bridge. The last warrior was his particular friend; and as he passed him he threw aside his blanket, and exhibited the shortened rifle, intimating, at the same time, the project they had in view. The Indian chief intended to meet the British commander in council, and at a given signal, which was to be the presentation of a belt of wampum in a peculiar manner, his attendants were to massacre all the officers, and rushing to the gates, to open them and admit the warriors, who were to be ready on the outside for immediate entrance. An indiscriminate slaughter was to follow, together with the demolition of the fort, and the annihilation of the British power.

“How Major Gladwyn acquired a knowledge of this atrocious scheme, cannot now be ascertained. The accounts which have been given of its disclosure are at variance; and it is possible that

this *bad meat* which is upon our lands. I begin to see that this is not your case, for instead of assisting us in our war with the English, you are actually assisting them. I have already told you, and I now tell you again, that when I undertook this war it was only your interest I sought, and that I knew what I was about. I yet know what I am about. This year, they must all perish. The Master of Life so orders it. His will is known to us, and we must do as he says. And you, my brothers, who know him better than we do, wish to oppose his will! Until now, I have avoided urging you upon this subject, in hopes that if you could not aid, you would not injure us. I did not wish to ask you to fight with us against the English, and I did not believe that you would take part with them. You will say that you are not with them. I know it, but your conduct amounts to the same thing. You tell them all we do and say. You carry our counsels and plans to them. Now take your choice. You must be entirely French like ourselves, or entirely English. If you are French, take this belt for yourselves and your young men, and join us. If you are English, *we declare war against you.*”—p. 49.

that officer may not have revealed the secret, from well-founded apprehensions of the consequences to his friendly monitor. I am inclined to believe that an Indian woman named Catherine, who was frequently employed in making moccasins for the garrison, was the person who communicated the important information. It is said that she had previously completed a number of pair for Major Gladwyn, and had been so well rewarded that her gratitude was excited. On the evening preceding the day assigned by the Indians for the catastrophe, an elk skin was delivered to her, for the purpose of making some very fine moccasins. After receiving it, she lingered about the quarters of the commanding officer, as though unwilling to depart; and when urged to leave the fort before the gates were closed, she gave some equivocal answer and desired to be led to Major Gladwyn. She then disclosed the whole plan. It was fortunate that her warning was well received. Major Gladwyn employed the night in making the necessary preparations. His defences were strengthened, his arms and ammunition examined and arranged, and every man within the fort, civil and military, was directed to be ready for instant and urgent service. The officers walked upon the ramparts during the night, not certain but that the usual inconstancy of the Indians might precipitate their movements, and urge an immediate assault. All, however, was silent except the songs and dances in the Indian camps, which alone broke upon the stillness of the night. They employed the time as they usually do upon the eve of any great enterprise, in singing and dancing, anticipating the full success of their scheme.

“In the morning, Pontiac and his warriors sung their war song, danced their war dance, and repaired to the fort. They were admitted without hesitation, and were conducted to the council-house, where Major Gladwyn and his officers were prepared to receive them. They perceived at the gate, and as they passed through the streets, an unusual activity and movement among the troops. The garrison was under arms, the guards were doubled, and the officers armed with swords and pistols. Pontiac inquired of the British commander, what was the cause of this unusual appearance. He was answered that it was proper to keep the young men to their duty, lest they should become idle and ignorant. The business of the council then commenced, and Pontiac proceeded to address Major Gladwyn. His speech was bold and menacing, and his manner and gesticulations vehement, and they became still more so as he approached the critical moment. When he was on the point of presenting the belt to Major Gladwyn, and all was breathless expectation, the drums at the door of the council-house suddenly rolled the

charge, the guards levelled their pieces, and the British officers drew their swords from their scabbards. Pontiac was a brave man, constitutionally and habitually. He had fought in many a battle, and had often led his warriors to victory. But this unexpected and decisive proof that his treachery was discovered and prevented, entirely disconcerted him. *Tradition says he trembled.* And at all events, he delivered his belt in the usual manner, and thus failed to give his party the concerted signal of attack. Major Gladwyn immediately approached the chief, and drawing aside his blanket, discovered the shortened rifle; and then, after stating his knowledge of the plan, and reproaching him for his treachery, ordered him from the Fort. The Indians immediately retired; and as soon as they had passed the gates, they gave the yell, and fired upon the garrison. They then proceeded to the commons, where was living an aged English woman with her two sons. These they murdered, and then repaired to Hog Island, where a discharged Sergeant resided with his family, who were all but one immediately massacred. Thus was the war commenced."— pp. 30–32.

The following is the account by Governor Cass, of the surrender of another fort which was also carried by stratagem.

"The circumstances attending the surprise of Michilimackinac, are better known than those which led to the success of the Indians at any other place. The Fort was then upon the main land, near the northern point of the peninsula. The Ottawas, to whom the assault was committed, prepared for a great game of ball, to which the officers were invited. While engaged in the play, one of the parties gradually inclined towards the Fort, and the other pressed after them. The ball was once or twice thrown over the pickets, and the Indians were suffered to enter and procure it. Almost all the garrison were present as spectators, and those upon duty were negligent and unprepared. Suddenly the ball was thrown into the Fort, and all the Indians rushed after it. The rest of the tale is soon told. The troops were butchered and the fort destroyed."— p. 28.

The following arrangements of a maritime attack made by Pontiac upon certain British vessels, which had been sent to Niagara to hasten the arrival of a reinforcement as well as army stores, speak well for his ingenuity, although the attack was unsuccessful.

"Pontiac felt the necessity of destroying these vessels, and he therefore constructed rafts for that purpose. The barns of some

of the inhabitants were demolished, and the materials employed in this work. Pitch and other combustibles were added, and the whole so formed as to burn with rapidity and intensity. They were of considerable length, and were towed to a proper position above the vessels, when fire was applied, and they were left to the stream in the expectation that they would be carried in contact with the vessels, and immediately set fire to them. Twice the attempt was made and unsuccessful. The British were aware of the design, and took their measures accordingly. Boats were constructed and anchored, with chains above the vessels, and every precaution was used to ward off the blow. The blazing rafts passed harmlessly by, and other incidents soon occurred to engage the attention of the Indians. On the 29th of July, a fleet of boats was descried ascending the river. Anxious to ascertain whether they had escaped the attacks of the Indians, a gun was fired from the Fort, which was immediately answered by the boats, each of which carried four swivels and two mortars; and on board the whole, was a detachment of 300 regular troops, under the command of Captain Dalyell, an aid-de-camp of Sir Jeffrey Amherst, the British Commander-in-chief." — p. 38.

Pontiac, like King Philip, carried his bitter hatred of the English to his grave. After a series of bloody struggles, accompanied by like acts of cunning, with which he continued to harass them, he separated himself from his former Indian confederates, who had established a compact of peace with the British, and retired to Illinois. For causes which do not appear, he was there assassinated by a Peoria Indian.*

The events to which we have referred, conjoined with a friendly policy which was thenceforward maintained towards the savages, left the British in possession of the posts. From that period, their mercantile enterprise was gradually pushed into the interior, through the channels of the fur trade; and their power was consolidated, until the outbreak of the American revolution. Throughout that war, the frontier position of Detroit exposed it to incursions of the Indians, (great numbers of whom had been engaged by British influence against the Colonies,) which continued to disturb its peace until inde-

* It may be mentioned as illustrative of the character of Pontiac, that in a subsequent war he appointed a commissary, and issued bills of credit, drawn upon bark, with his arms, the figure of an otter, sketched upon them, and that when these bills came to maturity, they were punctually redeemed.

pendence was established. The subsequent controversy, originating from the surrender of the posts, gave rise to the well-known defeat of Harmar and St. Clair, and the successful campaign of General Wayne.

The treaty of 1783 included Michigan within the boundaries of the United States, and a great portion of the soil was doubly secured, in 1785, by compacts with the Indian tribes ; but it continued, from well-known causes, for a considerable time, under the dominion of Great Britain. In 1796, that chivalrous officer, General Anthony Wayne, first planted the American banner on the fort at Detroit. The Ordinance of 1787 was at this time extended over Michigan, as being embraced within the boundaries of the Northwestern Territory, which was constituted by that ordinance. By this frame of government for the Northwestern Territory, (drawn up by Nathan Dane, the distinguished public benefactor and jurist of the State of Massachusetts, the founder of Dane Law College at Cambridge, and author of the "Abridgment and Digest of American Law,") the executive power was lodged in a Governor, the Judicial power in three Judges, and the Legislative power in both combined. The Ordinance itself was declared irrevocable without the "common consent"; and the legislative power was limited in its exercise to the adoption of laws from the codes of the different States. The officers of the Territory were to be appointed by the national government ; and the expenses of the government were to be defrayed by Congress, until the Territory should contain a population of five thousand free white male inhabitants, after which time, it was to become optional with the Territory to provide its legislation at its own expense.

In 1805, during which year Detroit was destroyed by fire, General William Hull, the new Governor, organized the Territorial Government of Michigan, Ohio and Indiana having been erected into States, and Illinois into a separate Territory. From that time to 1819, the Ordinance, a comprehensive code of the most clearly defined and liberal principles of jurisprudence, and a worthy monument of its founder, continued in unabated force. Within this interval, the civil administration of the Territory was interrupted, as is well known, by the military operations in that quarter, which, commencing in 1812 with the disastrous movements of General Hull, and blackened by the massacre of the river Raisin,

terminated, in the autumn of 1813, with the victory of Commodore Perry, and the advance of General Harrison to the Canada frontier. In that year, General Cass was appointed Governor of Michigan.

In 1819, the power to send a delegate to Congress, who should have the right of speaking but not of voting, was granted by a law of the United States, established *over* the Ordinance of 1787 ; and the right of suffrage, limited by that ordinance to freeholders, was extended to all taxable citizens. In 1823, the Territorial Government was further modified in favor of local influence, by an act of Congress. By this act, the right of *eligibility to office* was based on the right of *suffrage*, granted in the act of 1819 ; the Judicial term of office was limited to four years, the legislative power of the Governor and the Judges was taken away, and in their place was substituted a legislative body, with augmented powers, now denominated the "Legislative Council." This Council was required to be constituted of nine men, selected by the President of the United States, from eighteen candidates chosen by the people. In 1825, all the County offices of the Territory were made elective, excepting those which were connected with the administration of justice ; and the Executive appointments were made subject to the acquiescence of the Legislative Council. In 1827, the electors of the Territory were empowered to select a number of persons equal to that of which the Council had heretofore been constituted. The power of this Council was confined to the enactment of laws consistent with the Ordinance of 1787 ; subject, however, to the *veto* of the Executive of the Territory, and the abrogation of Congress.

Thus stood the Territorial Government of Michigan until the establishment of the present State Constitution. It was ordained and established by a convention assembled at the City of Detroit, in May, 1835. Modelled somewhat after the constitutions of the other States, it is probably more democratic than any. This is particularly true in reference to the right of suffrage. It grants this right not only to all free white male citizens above the age of twenty-one years, who shall have resided in the State six months ; but also to all free white male citizens of the aforesaid age, who shall have been residents of the State at the time of signing the Constitution. Whether this liberal provision does not open a door for cor-

ruption and fraud, is a fair question for discussion, and we believe that it divides the public opinion of that State. The means of education are amply provided, in the act which ordains the establishment of common schools, the institution of a library in each township, supported by penal fines and taxes for exemption from military duty, and the erection of a University, aided by grants of public lands for that object, which we believe have been already made by the United States. These beneficial enactments, if discreetly carried out, will doubtless place the State on a strong basis of morals and intelligence. It is provided also, that the territorial laws, not repugnant to the Constitution, are to remain in force until they expire by their own limitation, or are repealed by action of the Legislature.

The attitude in which Michigan has for some time stood in relation to her southern boundary line, and to the Union, exhibits a marked anomaly in the history of the government. The State government is already organized, and the Territorial government still remains. The boundary line which is made the subject of controversy, is a belt of land seventy miles in length, and about eleven miles broad at its eastern, and seven at its western end, dividing the States of Ohio and Michigan. It is especially valuable upon the eastern side, on account of the fertility of the soil, and from the fact that it commands the outlet of the Maumee river, the key to a wide and rich back country ; and will also afford the control of the Erie and Wabash Canal, a work of brilliant promise, which has recently been projected. Although the States of Indiana and Illinois would be abridged by the success of the claim of Michigan, still the main question, from the cause which we have stated, is at issue between this State and Ohio.

We shall not enter into a minute exhibition of the case, as the documentary evidence, running back into the early records of the Territory, would furnish matter for volumes. We will confine ourselves to a brief statement of its general grounds, since the whole subject has already passed under the examination of Congress.

It is contended on the part of Michigan, that the southern boundary of that State is fixed by the Ordinance of 1787, which was established by the then thirteen United States of America ; that this ordinance is a solemn compact between the Federal Government, and the people who were then or should

become inhabitants of the Territory ; a compact unalterable except by common consent ; “ a compact ” said Mr. John Q. Adams, on the floor of Congress, “ as binding as was ever ratified by God in heaven.” By the 5th article of that ordinance, it is declared that the boundaries of the three States constituting the Northwestern Territory, “ shall be subject so far to be altered, that if Congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two States in that part of said Territory which lies North of *an East and West line drawn through the Southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan.*” It is affirmed in consequence of this ordinance, that the Southern boundary of Michigan is fixed by compact, and cannot be altered by Congress, except by *common consent.*

It was maintained on the other hand by Ohio, backed by the influence of Illinois and Indiana, — whose organized territory was involved, — that the aforesaid line prescribed in the ordinance was *not*, in the legal sense, a boundary, but a *parallel* and *partial* line, introduced “ for the protection of the States below, and to prevent a diminution of the territory allotted to them ; that the ordinance intended at once to give to Congress the discretionary power of forming one or two States in any part North of the line, and to restrain them from abridging the territory of the three States established by the ordinance, by coming to any extent whatever south of it.”* It was affirmed that Congress had a right, therefore, to establish the Northern boundary of Ohio, as the Constitution of the State, which had been recognised by the General Government, declared it should be established, namely, by “ *a direct line running from the Southerly extremity of Lake Michigan, to the most Northerly cape of Maumee Bay.*”

While this case was pending, Ohio passed a law, extending its jurisdiction over the disputed territory, which was actually resisted by Michigan with a military force. At this juncture, the President of the United States, foreseeing disturbances, appointed two commissioners, Mr. Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Benjamin C. Howard, of Maryland, to repair to the disputed territory, and to adjust these differences, until the whole matter could be concluded by Congress. An arrangement was subsequently made between the parties, in May of 1835, to the effect, that Harris’s line, the boundary

* Binney’s speech on the Boundary Question.

claimed by Ohio, should be re-marked by the surveyor, without interruption ; and that the people upon the disputed territory should acknowledge, at their option, the jurisdiction either of Ohio or Michigan. This arrangement, however, left the matter pretty much where it was found, and did not assuage the existing excitement. The war accordingly broke out anew upon the border, to enforce and resist the jurisdiction of either State.

This question was not acted upon, finally, by Congress, until the month of April of the last year, in "the bill to establish the boundary line of Ohio, and to provide for the admission of Michigan into the Union." In this bill, the boundary, as claimed by Ohio, was established for that State, and the admission of Michigan was made *conditional* on its assent to this boundary, given by a convention of delegates from the people. As a *quittance*, the same act granted an extension of its territorial limits towards the shores of Lake Superior. This matter was acted on by a convention held in September last, and the condition proposed in the act of Congress was rejected. The important questions involved seem, therefore, at least as far from adjustment as ever.

No one can travel through Michigan at the present time, without being astonished at the spirit of speculation, which there perhaps, more than in any other district of the West, is burning with such *fanatical intenseness*. It seems impossible to doubt that it proceeds, to a great extent, upon a basis of calculations which never can be realized ; and that, exceedingly often, valuations are merely factitious. Certainly, a new and growing country is the right field of speculation. A broad acre of good arable soil is doubtless worth double the government price, for actual use ; and there are eligible points, where large cities will eventually be built up. The evil is, that the spirit excited by the imagination, travels *beyond* all reasonable prospects of the growth of the country, and that it is opposed to that every-day industry, which must itself create the growth that is looked for. The hardy yeoman who emigrates to that country, with limited funds, for the purpose of purchasing and *improving* a farm, is soon infected with the epidemic speculating mania, and betakes himself to his paper and pencil, instead of uprooting the oaks, and following his plough through the mellow soil. Altogether too great a portion of the land is purchased to sell, and too little to cultivate,

The cities of the West cannot be maintained and enriched, but by agricultural industry. *Festina lente* is an important maxim, not only for individuals, but nations. Magnificent institutions will doubtless rise up in the West, for rapid growth is the necessary consequence of its affluent resources ; but we have no doubt, that before that period arrives, many rivers which are now of great consideration on paper, will be used as mere duck ponds, and many sites of very plausible cities, now engraved upon the maps, will be bought and sold as wheat fields. Happy if they are capable even of being put to that use, for the city-makers do not always operate on such good materials.*

The valuable Discourses of Mr. Whiting and Mr. Biddle, which are presented in the volume of "Historical and Scientific Sketches of Michigan," both relate to the later history of that Territory, and we have been indebted to them for many of our statements belonging to that period. They are followed by extracts from a lecture delivered by Mr. Schoolcraft, before the Detroit Lyceum, upon the Natural History of Michigan, containing important and curious details, respecting its geology, animals, and minerals. A few remarks by Major Whiting, on the supposed tides of the North American Lakes, are subjoined. These are illustrated by a tabular view of the periodical rise and fall of the tides at Green Bay, the result of observations made in 1828, at the request of Governor Cass. The history and science, as well as the social prosperity of Michigan, are not under greater obligations to any individual, living or dead, than to that distinguished soldier, scholar, and statesman.

* The process of *city-making* for purposes of speculation, as it is too often practised in Michigan, as well as in other Western States, is substantially as follows. A tract of land is purchased by the acre, sometimes by individuals, but more frequently by companies, at the government price, and, if it can be obtained, along the banks of a lake or stream. This tract is surveyed, and laid out into a city or village, with the streets, squares, and public buildings all tastefully laid down upon a map. *Choice city lots* are then offered in market, at an enhanced price, and under an imposing name. The vender does not always tell, nor does he always know, whether his city possesses local advantages or not ; whether it is upon the shore of a dismal fen, or the brow of a precipice. Sales have actually been sometimes effected of immense tracts, which have never been explored by either party ; and no wonder, if the dream of wealth is sometimes broken by the "sober certainty" of an unenvied as well as undisputed possession of some pestilential bog, or swamp of *Tamarack*.
